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RAILWAY MUST DROP, ASSERTS BEVERIDGE

Speaks at Annual Dinner of Commerce Chamber of New York State.

CALLS FOR SALES TAX

Darwin P. Kingsley Offers Plan for Federation of Peaceful Nations.

'REDS STILL A MENACE'

John J. Cornwell, Ex-Governor of West Virginia, Warns of State Paternalism.

Healing drafts in place of old, discredited nostrums for a world that is sick, a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair, a constructive programme that will mend the earth's infirmities—all of these it is America's duty to provide. America's statesmanship will be equal to the demand, American character stand the test and American institutions prove adequate.

In brief, the first of the foregoing was the keynote of a speech setting forth America's imperative duty toward the world in the present crisis as voiced by Darwin P. Kingsley at the 153d annual dinner of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York at the Waldorf last night. Mr. Kingsley is president of the Chamber.

The second embodies the prophecy of former Senator Albert J. Beveridge that America will perform her duty successfully. The former Senator from Indiana, in a speech that was punctuated repeatedly by enthusiastic applause, reviewed the plight of business generally, identified the symptoms of alarm, diagnosed the cause and prescribed the remedy.

Senator Beveridge found the most alarming symptom in the nation's case to be the growth of an "invisible empire," a closed corporation of men who have "made themselves masters of labor unions," which, he declared, had become as evil and dangerous an assailant of ordered liberty as "the de-throned autocracy of wealth."

'Reds Still Undeclared'

John J. Cornwell, formerly Governor of West Virginia, was another speaker, who, like the others, called for a readjustment of the relations between capital and labor as a prerequisite to industrial rehabilitation. Gov. Cornwell, while disclaiming the role of alarmist, or even pessimist, warned that the battle against radicalism, Socialism and Communism was not yet won.

The guests included Viscount Elchib Shibusawa, Bishop William T. Manning; Kiyu Kumasaka, Japanese Consul-General; Shintaro Chishiro, Jean Le Duplan, Capt. Carl T. Vogelgesang, U. S. N.; Thomas A. Edison, M. Zimmo, George E. McCoy of the Hudson Valley Chamber of Commerce, Fred W. Kelley of the Albany Chamber of Commerce, Roy McCarne of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce, Frank A. Munsey, Julius Henry Shintaro Chishiro, Jean Le Duplan, Capt. Carl T. Vogelgesang, U. S. N.; Eugene H. Outbridge, Alfred E. Marling, William Allan Dyer of the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce, Roy S. Smith of the Albany Chamber of Commerce, H. Parker Willis, Aras J. Williams of the Utica Chamber of Commerce and many other prominent business and industrial executives.

Mr. Beveridge sketched some of the legislative and executive acts that have produced such dire results—the Adamson law, the Government control of the railways and the "naturalism of mismanagement" that followed. He urged the immediate repeal of the Adamson law, passage of the pending railway bill, legislation that will free investing capital, repeal of the excess profits tax and the adoption of a sales tax that is open and above board.

'The Plight of Business'

Mr. Beveridge's speech on "The Plight of Business" was in part:

"The present depression is not a transient economic phase due to an unhappy state of mind on the part of business men or the people generally. It is not to be improved by the methods of college cheer leaders at football games. On the contrary, those ironists of hope who tell us that prosperity is just around the corner, when it is not there but far away, do not help but positively hurt business."

Worse still, they sow broadcast dragons' teeth of distrust. For when the people go around the corner and fail to find the promised prosperity, but are again told that is around the next corner and again fail to find the prosperity there—when this process is repeated three or four times the people lose confidence in everything and everybody. Faith is killed by disappointment.

"Now is the time for plain speaking by men who have graduated from ambition. Let us frankly know the worst at once. We have been rather fed up on the glad hand; we need instead a period of 'brass tacks'."

"One of the immediate causes of the creeping paralysis from which business is suffering is the plight of the railroads."

"To-day railway rates are oppressive, railway facilities inadequate, railway employees dissatisfied and rebellious, railway equipment impaired, railway capital reduced and imperilled. Until these conditions are bettered all forecasts of good times are the mere patter of politicians, the crafty wiles of men who have axes to grind, or the senseless incoherencies of pipe dreamers."

"Almost ten years ago I denounced as 'the invisible government' the sway of those financial conspirators who sought to dominate the nation. That cabal of cunning and avarice has been overthrown. But another invisible empire has been established, as evil and dangerous as that of the de-throned autocracy of wealth. This new assailant of ordered liberty and American institutions is the close and closed corporation of those men who have made themselves masters of labor unions."

"Organized capital and organized labor alike can be made useful to all men and helpful to the Republic, but neither shall be permitted to oppress any man, woman or child, or to govern the American people."

"The methods by which the Adamson law was forced on the statute books raised an issue as vital and basic as that

which brought on the Civil War—indeed the Adamson law issue went to the very existence of government itself.

"When organizations, by threat to strangle the nation, can dictate laws for their own advantage at the expense of all the people, then regular government by all for the good of all is annihilated, and, in place of it is substituted the erratic despotism of particular groups for their special purposes to the injury of the country as a whole."

"At all cost, the Adamson law issue should have been fought out to the finish the moment it appeared. Sooner or later it must be settled and every day's delay will make matters worse in the end. Differences over mere questions of policy can be compromised; usually they ought to be compromised. But differences over elemental principles cannot be compromised."

"The ultimatum to the Government by labor depots was obeyed and the Adamson law enacted in the exact form ordered and at the exact time ordered. It was the most shameful and humiliating event in American history. From it have come many of the industrial plagues with which, since then, the nation has been and is afflicted."

"The next blow at the nation's transportation system was dealt by the Government itself. We went to war shamefully unprepared; and, in a storm of confusion, excitement and panic, the railways, gravely weakened financially but with operating forces still regimented although restive, were taken from their harassed and distracted owners and run by the national Administration."

"Then followed that saturnalia of mismanagement which left those properties bound and gagged by agreements, regulations and working rules."

'Wages Must Drop'

"Immediate action is vital. Most rates must come down, and, especially and farthest, those on basic necessities like fuel and foodstuffs; and, therefore, since wages and rates are inseparable, wages must also come down."

"Our whole economic system has been inflated to the bursting point and general deflation is a necessity. That curbs the contrivance of makeshifts, the so-called Labor Board, that tells the railway owners how much they must spend, must be connected with that other organ of our bureaucracy, the Interstate Commerce Commission, which tells the railway owners how much they may receive."

"The contract made by the Government with the railway owners when the lines were taken by the Administration must be carried out. The indebtedness of the roads to the Government for improvements funded and not that of the Government to the roads paid—all as provided in the agreement. Thus railway insolvency will be averted, hundreds of millions expended on equipment and betterments, scores of thousands of now idle workmen employed and all industry vitalized."

"In short, the railway bill passed by the House months ago and held up in the Senate must be speedily enacted into law without mutilation or fundamental change."

"No one need fear revival of railway autocracy—a new industrial factor, the automobile, will moderate railway earnings. Auto trucks and motor buses already are making heavy reductions in short haul freight and passenger railway revenue."

"If business is to revive, investing capital must be freed as far as possible. The excess profits tax must be repealed—it ought to have been abolished when the pretext for it disappeared."

"In the end we must put a tax on expenditures—a non-cumulative tax on sales—which all, alike and equally, must pay in exact proportion to purchases. That would be a genuine and an honest tax on wealth."

"A sales tax is open, above board and in plain light of day. It is fixed, certain and cannot be multiplied at the expense of the consumer by under-ground manipulation."

Plans for a Federation.

"The members of the Chamber of Commerce, said Mr. Kingsley in his annual address, regard a reduction of armament as vital; they welcome the efforts now going forward toward that end. But, he warned, even so sweeping and startling proposals as were made by Secretary Hughes 'will be at best a palliative, a smoke screen behind which secret preparations for war in a more horrible form may go on secretly on.'"

"So long as armaments are bracketed with patriotism," Mr. Kingsley continued, "we shall have armaments. In my opinion, the only arrangement which will insure permanent peace is a controlling federation of all like-minded peoples."

"Federation means the creation, by the direct act of the individual citizen—not by the act of sovereign States as such—of a controlling power whose relations to all the federated peoples and States shall be like that of our Federal Government to the people of the forty-eight States of this Union and to the States themselves. This does not mean leagues or entangling alliances. The States of this Union are not entangled with each other, nor are they allied."

"In 1921 the real question is, as we believe, not armaments alone, but whether or not ordered liberty and civilization shall continue."

Warns of Paternalism.

Gov. Cornwell said one of the greatest factors he had observed in industrial unrest was the growing tendency to look to the State for the government, especially the Federal Government—to right every wrong, to issue orders and decrees that will reverse the law of nature. He continued:

"Closely allied to the tendency to go to the Government for legislation and executive orders to ameliorate every evil condition and to make possible easy profits, short hours and big wages, is the tendency to regard work, especially what we know as manual labor, as drudgery—to hate and despise it. There is, in fact, getting to be an ingrained aversion to work which really constitutes an alarming condition the world over. If persisted in and cultivated it means economic disaster and the destruction of civilization itself."

"No longer is there love of work for work's sake. No longer do we hear of the 'dignity of labor.'"

"There is a tendency to run to and rely on the Government, particularly the Federal Government, for everything. Are we to go on drifting toward the harbor of State Socialism with Communism and anarchy just beyond? If we are to avoid them business men must put their heads together, do some thinking and acting as well. First, they must put their houses in order and force their business neighbors to do likewise."

"The American public, if it understands aright, will be fair to business of all kinds, for the average citizen understands that we are all interdependent. But the public cannot be expected to understand unless it has the information necessary to correct understanding. The public understood the situation relative to the threatened railroad strike and the public has its mind made up on the subject. That is the reason there was no strike."

"Another thing, and this is all important. Business must cooperate and not fight and wrangle. If you do not want the Bolsheviks and Communists to get you must pull together and not pull apart. I do not mean that you should form unlawful combinations and conspiracies—not at all. I mean that you must understand each other's problems and give and take."

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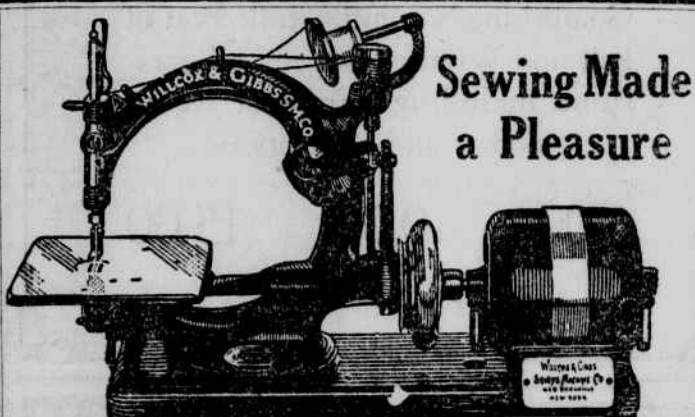
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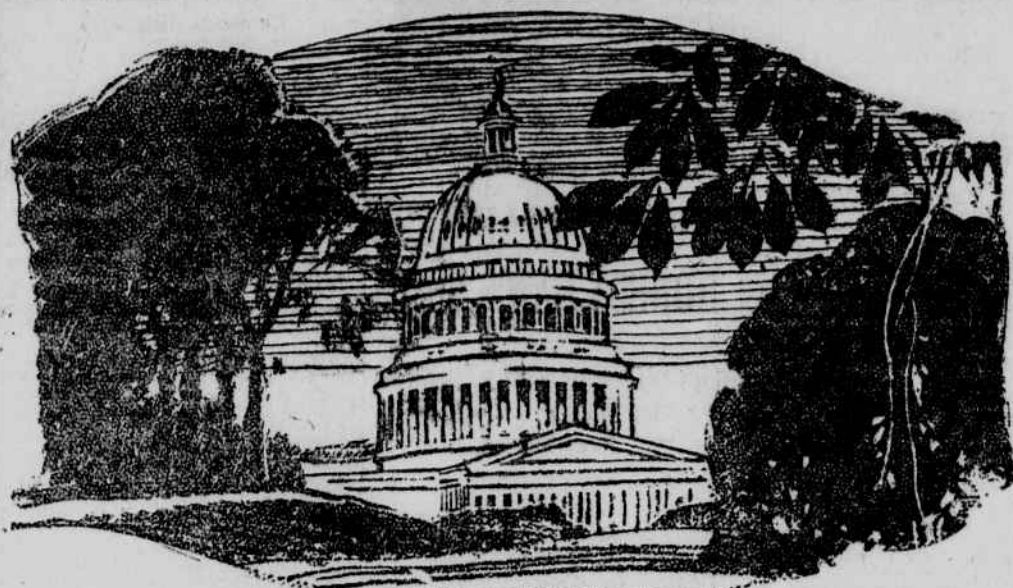
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